India

FOR THE

No. 205. New Series.
No. 299. Old Series.] WEEK ENDING FRIDAY, DECEMBER 6, 1901. [Registered as a Newspaper. | Price...... 2d. By Post, 2½d.

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NOTES AND NEWS.

SIR A. R. SCOBLE and Sir J. W. Bonser have been appointed members of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. The latter may be regarded as a Crown Colony representative, in satisfaction of a claim put forward on behalf of the Crown Colonies when the reorganisation of the system of Appeal was under consideration. The former, we suppose, is meant to represent India. What grounds there are for imagining that he is able to fill the shoes of Lord Hobhouse, or of Sir Richard Couch, we confess ourselves unable even to guess. We are, indeed, aware that Sir A. R. Scoble was for some time Legal Member of the Viceroy's Legislative Council, and that he has since been a steady political supporter of the Government. But why he should be placed on the Judicial Committee we fail to understand. It would be easy to find a dozen Indian lawyers with superior qualifications—superior, that is, so far as there are public means of judging. We shall be interested to observe the opinion of India on this appointment. Mr. Chamberlain expressed (February 23) his sense of "the importance of the matter to the interests of India"—the importance, that is, of the remodelling of the Indian and Colonial Court of Final Appeal. But since there is to be no immediate remodelling, apparently the personnel of the old Court is of no particular consequence. What degree of strength, we should like to know, will Sir A. R. Scoble add to the Judicial Committee?

There has just been published the official "Correspondence relating to the Proposed Establishment of a Final Court of Colonial Appeal" (Cd. 846. Price 3½d.). "Colonial" Appeal, observe; not "Indian and Colonial." Indeed, it requires close reading to find out "the importance of the matter to the interests of India." To be sure, India was represented at the Conference—represented by Sir John Edge, "member of the Council of the Secretary of State for India (appointed by him to attend the Conference on behalf of the Government of India)." If India had had as free a voice as a Colony, great or small, we are inclined to think that the representative would have been a very different personage. Even Newfoundland and Natal make their own choice; India has to take the choice made for it. In what manner, or to what effect, Sir John represented the interests of India the paper does not inform us: but presumably he represented the supposed interests of the Government of India, which are not invariably the same interests. There is one of the general conclusions of the Conference that commands assent—namely, that the selection of members of the Judicial Committee "should not be limited to Judges and ex-Judges." That conclusion is emphatically important as regards India. However, the whole thing proved a fiasco. "The result of the Conference," wrote Mr. Chamberlain (August 10), "has been to show that no far-reaching alteration in the present Tribunal is desired, or would be considered satisfactory, by the Colonies generally." His conclusion is noteworthy: "so long as the Colonies are of that opinion, his Majesty's Government do not propose to make any material changes for the establishment of an Imperial Court of Appeal."

Are we to conclude, then, that India is to be tied to the tail of the Colonies, and to receive no satisfactory treatment, notwithstanding "the importance of the matter in the interests of India"? The appointment of Sir A. R. Scoble seems to give the answer. How scurvily India has been treated in the matter appears from statistics of appeals during the past five years. In 1896-1900, the Privy Council disposed of 420 "appeals from Indian and Colonial Courts (not including cases from Courts of Crown Colonies)"; and of these 420 cases no fewer than 249—more than half—were from India. Indeed, in every single one of those five years the appeals from India were more numerous than those from all the Colonies together. In the same period, the "petitions for special leave to appeal" were 133, and of these no fewer than 57 came from India, while in 1900 India sent 14 out of 22—again more than half. The Crown Colonies sent only 31 appeals and 20 petitions for special leave to appeal. These figures, showing the appeals disposed of during the past five years, do not seem to justify the subordination of India at this precious Conference. Besides, the Colonies have shown that they have no such desire "for more effective and continuous representation" as Mr. Chamberlain mistakenly attributed to them. They appear to agree with Canada, which replied at once that it "is not dissatisfied" with the present constitution of the Judicial Committee, and "does not see any advantage to be gained" by the proposed scheme. India is profoundly dissatisfied. Not that it hankers after Mr. Chamberlain's grandiose revolution, indeed; but it does want to have its law interpreted with more intelligence at Whitehall. Meantime its just claims are conspicuously flouted.

The "Friend of India" finds little or nothing in the Resolution on the Annual Report of the Calcutta Municipality to "modify materially the impression left on the public mind by the Report itself, that the recent change in the constitution of the Municipality still remains to be justified by results." The "diminished friction" of which so much is made may mean nothing more than "a greater disposition to make things comfortable all round." Sir John Woodburn, says our contemporary, "cannot altogether conceal his disappointment with the record"; and it is noted as a discouraging feature that there is little hope that the opening out of unsanitary areas will be prosecuted with vigour. On the other hand, the "Englishman," which supported the change of the municipality's constitution, finds that step justified by the Report, conveniently forgetting the mass of evidence against the present corporation contained in its columns of correspondence during the past year. The experiment of destroying local self-government has proved, as was to be expected, a melancholy failure.

So far, indeed, as the clearing of unsanitary areas is concerned, there is an ambitious scheme of driving fifteen miles of new streets through the town; but as the scheme has not yet been agreed to, and as the ratepayers are to bear the whole cost, the "Friend of India" does not expect the present generation to see it finished. On one point its expediency is a matter of grave doubts in the mind of the Lieutenant-Governor. The displaced population now living in single-storeyed huts are to be lodged in three-storeyed masonry buildings. Unless the new tenements have advantages of their own, and are let at the accustomed rents, they are not likely to become popular in Calcutta. It is to be noted that there will probably be a considerable increase in municipal taxation in the near future.

A correspondent who has had opportunities of historical study and of practical experience writes:—The result

is to lead to a belief that the British Government, with intentions that ought not to be blamed, or even suspected, has a great share in the chronic distress of the Indian peasantry. This arises from the method of revenue collection. Requiring vast quantities of coin for the expenses of civilised administration, we have insisted on the unhappy Ramchunder—whether zemindar or rayat—producing his contribution to the fisc in specie. And the fact of his never having any metallic resources imposes upon him the necessity of keeping his crops in chronic pledge to the village banker; while the practice of assessing him to a further sum, to be rendered every "kist" at the same yearly estimate, adds to the burden. Not only has the poor man no stock of capital; but the idea of economising in a good year to meet the deficit of a bad year never in my belief occurs to him. Now the principle of our Moslem predecessors was different. Some crops, grown by the wealthier landlords and easily marketable at well known and little varying rates, were called "zabli," and assessed in cash. But the food staples of all sorts, cereals and legumes, were spread upon the "kalian" at harvest, and then and there divided, by "vatai," between the producer and the fiscal agent. Now, would it not be worth while to see how far that method survives in Native States; whether the people find it easy, and how the Amils get through the business of turning the produce into coin? All that enquiry would be most fruitful if it established the principle that the yeomen and landlords ought not to be saddled with the trouble of conducting a part of the State's business. It can never be too much borne in mind that the ideal of Asiatic communities is to be protected; and that ideal possibly includes every kind of duty connected with public life, of which the turning the Governmental share of the soil's yield is apparently in their minds an integral part.

The Rev. James Wells, D.D., recently had an article in the "Sunday Magazine" on "Krishna and his Worshippers" against the tone of which the "Tribune" protests. In fact our contemporary does not scruple to compare the learned Doctor of Divinity to those simple Indian countrymen who, judging Christianity only by the Christians they had met, held that the whole duty of a Christian consisted of eating beef, drinking brandy, wearing trousers and kicking Natives. In like manner, Dr. Wells tells us that Krishna, whose worshippers he estimates at a hundred millions, "beyond doubt . . . . owes his fame chiefly to his infamies; for he is to-day both the wickedest and the most popular of Hindu deities." As the "Tribune" points out, the Hindus are admittedly as a race mild, pure, and orderly above the average. Could the worshippers of such a god remain so; or conversely, would such a people select such a god? And should not a man of deep religious feeling, as Dr. Wells no doubt is, show more respect for the deep religious feelings of others?

A curious story, which we must hope is exaggerated, appears in certain Indian papers. The original authority seems to have been the Dalhousie correspondent of the "Tribune." A Lieutenant of the Bedford Regiment developed a great love for striking Indians. One day he assaulted Bishambar Nath, a telegraph signaller, and the matter being reported to the military authorities, the gallant Lieutenant was ordered to apologise to Bishambar Nath and pay him Rs.100 as compensation. We have lately had occasion to congratulate the British soldiers in India on the great reduction in the number of assaults by soldiers on Indians reported in the newspapers. But an assault by an officer is much more serious. If officers ill-treat and insult Indians, is it surprising that soldiers should do the same?

We receive with cordial welcome the first number of "East and West" (for November, 1901), the new monthly review started in Bombay by Mr. Behramji M. Malabari. It extends to 124 pages of varied and good matter in readable type, and costs but one rupee. With Mr. Malabari at the helm of course it has a specific mission of an elevated character. This mission, he tells us, is "to interpret the West to the East and the East to the West, so that the science and enlightenment of the one may act on the ancient wisdom and learning of the other, to uphold the ideals of a higher civilisation." What effect he expects the interpretation of the East to the West to produce he does not venture to formulate: let us wait and see. The review "will endeavour to give a correct appreciation of all aspects of public life and government in India, and a beneficent impulse to the political opinions and aspirations of those to whom India is the motherland or to whom she is an integral part of the great Empire of which they are subjects." This seems to indicate that Mr. Malabari is going to give more attention to politics than hitherto, and to take a stronger attitude—though we are not so sure about the stronger attitude. Of course, the review "will discuss topics of vital international interest on broad and generous lines," and will endeavour always "to elevate the tone of modern thought, and to draw all races together in a bond of mutual understanding and enlightenment." We heartily wish it a crowning success. But—this is still a wicked world, and, good as oil and honey are in their place, Mr. Malabari will find use also for a whip.

Sir Charles Dilke opens the number with a slight paper on "Indian Affairs in Parliament," the main point in which is his insistence on the essential importance of "the opportunity for free discussion" that would be afforded by the placing of the Secretary of State's salary on the Estimates. He is "hostile to the treating of India as a single State, and favourable to a legislative recognition of the extreme diversity of conditions which undoubtedly exist in India"; but, given certain arrangements, "the less we interfere in the details of administration, to my mind, the better both for India and for ourselves." Principal Selby, writing on "University Education in India," argues "that, if the aim of education in India is properly understood, the provision made for it is very inadequate." Mr. Selby speaks with much frankness and discrimination on a subject that urgently demands attention. He thinks "the real remedy is to be found in increasing the revenues of the colleges," in and by which the University education is entirely given, and that, whatever may be the duty of the State in the matter, "the time has come when some Indian Carnegie may fairly be expected to contribute his two millions" to the work. We like his object of "diffusing throughout the community a more scientific and philosophic spirit," and hope it will be kept well in view, though in the meantime thoroughness within a more limited sphere would lay a most desirable foundation of solid qualities.

Some little time ago the Calcutta carters and gari-wallas struck. Their chief complaints were that they had to pay blackmail to the police, and that their animals were taken to hospital when they had really nothing the matter with them, and were often kept there till the expenses were more than their value. As the result of a Government enquiry, it is now declared that no animals were taken to the Infirmary unless they had something the matter with them, but many, owing to the obstinacy of their ailments, had to be kept there till the cost of their maintenance came to more than they were worth. To meet this grievance, the Bengal Government has hit upon what the "Englishman" calls a highly original method. When an animal is sent to the Infirmary it will be valued by the Magistrate. When the charges equal the valuation, the owner will have the choice of paying them and taking back his animal, or of having it sold by auction to pay the fees. The "Madras Mail" considers the report very damaging to the Calcutta S.P.C.A., letters which it now interprets as the "Society for the Purpose of Cadging Annas."

In the Mutiny ("The Tale of the Great Mutiny," by W. H. Fitchett, B.A., LL.D., London: Smith, Elder, and Co., 1901), Dr. Fitchett has a subject well suited to his talents; for he is a master of bright and stirring narrative. He does not attempt to write a connected history of the events of that terrible period, still less to trace them back to their more remote causes. He fixes on the three great centres round which the fight particularly raged: Cawnpore, Lucknow, and Delhi, and gives a thrilling narrative of what took place in each. His treatment of the causes of the Mutiny is very brief. He believes that the rumour that cartridges greased with beef fat and swine fat, and therefore hateful alike to Hindu and Moslem, were to be issued to the troops was the immediate cause, but he ad-

mits that this did not act alone. Among the "evil forces at work" he enumerates the annexation of Oude, the denial of the right of adoption to the Native Princes, the decay of discipline in the Sepoy ranks, and the loss of revenue for their officers. It is satisfactory to find that a writer so strongly Imperialist and with such a belief in England's mission can see that reckless annexation may become a source of evil.

Dr. Fitchett is far indeed from claiming that heroic deeds were done by the British alone during the Mutiny. He has not arrived at that curious and illogical state, lately so prevalent, in which those who profess the greatest admiration for our own soldiers rob them of their due meed of glory by belittling the prowess and dilating on the cowardice of the foe. Nor does he deny a word of praise to those Indians who stood firm in their allegiance. "A hundred examples," he declares, "might be given where Native loyalty and valour saved the situation for the English." Nevertheless, he is too much under the dominion of the prejudices of race. Between the peoples of these islands, indeed, he is perfectly impartial; and so many are the instances he gives of exceptional prowess by Irish and Highland Scotch, that the Anglo-Saxon seems, if his superior numbers be taken into consideration, to have played a very secondary part. But it is otherwise when he deals with the Indians. "Indian life," according to him, "develops all that is proudest and most manly in the British character. The Englishman there feels that he is a member of an imperial and conquering race." With those views of what is "proudest" in British character generally accepted by the English in India, it is small wonder if the fury of the Mutineers was not directed solely against the fighting men of the proud and hated race.

No war is so cruel as a racial war. In the Mutiny there was cruelty on both sides, redeemed by the merciful conduct of many gallant soldiers among the conquerors. At Cawnpore, high caste Brahmins were made to wipe up blood, and so were defiled and then executed. "That was an inhumanity unworthy of the English name, which Lord Clyde promptly forbade." The executions of the rebels scarcely come within the limits of Dr. Fitchett's book. Speaking of "Colonel Neill's hangings," as they were called, he admits that they were "of heroic scale, and looked at through the cold perspective of forty years, wear a very black aspect." But Neill's executions, done while the campaign was at its hottest and the immediate issue still doubtful, are at least more easily justified than some of the punishments inflicted after the fall of Delhi, such as the shooting of the Princes by Hodson without any trial. On the whole, however, we have been pleasantly surprised by the spirit in which Dr. Fitchett writes. Too often those who set out to tell heroic deeds end by glorifying mere bloodshed and defending plain murder.

Mr. John Jackson sets out in an interesting and pathetic volume entitled "In Leper-Land" (London: Marshall Bros.), an account of a tour extending to 7,000 miles of Indian travel during twenty weeks to see the conditions of lepers in India, together with incidental notes on missions. His primary purpose was "to ascertain by personal observation the real condition of the lepers of India, and to obtain a direct insight into the work of ministering to their temporal and spiritual needs," with a view to rendering these afflicted people more effective service. He visited 27 asylums or settlements, containing 2,979 inmates, lepers, and their children, "upwards of 2,100 of whom may now, it is believed, be regarded as true Christians." A secondary purpose of Mr. Jackson's visit was to represent the Missionary Peace Association, and in his capacity of treasurer of that Society he distributed upwards of £1,000 on its behalf on various forms of famine relief and on buildings for lepers and others. His account is a very painful one, and the 34 illustrations he gives bring home to the reader a harrowing sense of distress. He claims, however, that his book "is at least free from exaggeration, and true to fact," and even asserts that "the realities went far beyond the subdued descriptions I have given."

Messrs. Longmans, Green and Co. have just published a "second series" of "Last Essays," by the late Professor Max Müller (price 5s.). The Essays deal exclusively with the Science of Religion, which was the author's favourite study during the latter part of his literary career. The main part of the volume is reprinted from various periodicals. The first paper on "Forgotten Bibles" is dated 1884, while three papers on the three principal "Religions of China" belong to 1900, the rest coming in between at varying dates. It was hardly worth while to give so much space to criticism of Madame Blavatsky and Esoteric Buddhism, together with Mr. Sinnett's reply and the rejoinder thereto: one might as well argue about the validity of the Multiplication Table. The article on "The Kutho-Daw" is somewhat discursive, even for Max Müller, but it is well to have it rescued from the number of the "Nineteenth Century" in which it appeared in September, 1895. The Buddhist Bible is about five times as large as our own.

> The Kutho-Daw is a Buddhist monument near Mandalay in Burma, consisting of about 700 temples, each containing a slab of white marble on which the whole of this Buddhist Bible, the whole of these eight millions of syllables, has been carefully engraved. . . . . It was erected in 1857 by Mindon-min, the predecessor of King Thebaw, the last King of Burma.

Max Müller confesses his satisfaction "that such a Bible on white marble cannot be matched in the whole world." "Think," he says, "of the fearful expenditure of labour and money." At any rate, there must be something in it, and perhaps some wealthy Buddhist, if not the Government or some learned society interested in the study of comparative religion, may yet find the small sum necessary to obtain the photographic reproduction of the complete text of the Tripitaka.

The article on "Ancient Prayers" is new. It is very interesting and suggestive. "The habit of praying, both in private and in public, continued throughout all periods of the history of Indian religion"—the Buddhist phase alone excepted. To the paper on "The Alleged Sojourn of Christ in India" (1894) is here appended Professor Archibald Douglas's article on his visit to the monastery of Himis in Western Tibet—an article that conclusively exploded M. Notovitch's alleged "Vie Inconnue de Jésus Christ." Mr. Douglas also states, in a supplementary note, that "much rubbish has been written by travellers regarding the exclusiveness and hostility of Buddhist Lamas." He "saw none of it"; on the contrary, he "was received everywhere with quiet, gentle courtesy." He believes—and one is not surprised at his belief—"that a great deal of the trouble that arises between Europeans and Orientals in unbeaten tracks is due to a want of consideration, of common courtesy, on the part of the former." The paper "Why I am not an Agnostic," has a close personal interest. Max Müller says:—

> In one sense I hope I am, and always have been, an Agnostic—that is, in relying on nothing but historical facts and in following reason as far as it will take us in matters of the intellect, and in never pretending that conclusions are certain which are not demonstrated or demonstrable. This attitude of the mind has always been recognised as the "conditio sine qua non" of all philosophy. If, in future, it is to be called Agnosticism, then I am a true Agnostic; but if Agnosticism excludes a recognition of an eternal reason pervading the natural and the moral world, if to postulate a rational cause for a rational universe is called Gnosticism, then I am a Gnostic, and a humble follower of the greatest thinkers of our race, from Plato and the author of the Fourth Gospel to Kant and Hegel.

The final paper enquires "Is Man Immortal?" It is interesting mainly as an illustration of the working of the author's mind. It is by no means thorough-going or conclusive.

Remittances on India for 60 lakhs were on Wednesday offered for tender by the India Council, and applications amounting to Rs. 10,02,55,000 were received at prices ranging from 1s. 3d. and 15-16ths to 1s. 4d. The following amounts were allotted:—viz., in bills, Rs. 51,82,000 on Calcutta and Rs. 7,04,000 on Bombay at an average of 1s. 3.97d., and Rs. 10,000 on Madras at an average of 1s. 4d.; and in telegraphic transfers one lakh on Bombay at an average of 1s. 4d. Tenders for bills at 1s. 3d. and 31-32nds and for transfers at 1s. 4d. will receive about 13 per cent. Last week remittances for Rs. 60,95,000 were sold for £405,617, making the total disposed of from April 1 to Tuesday night Rs. 14,18,04,710, producing £9,423,314. Next week 60 lakhs will again be offered.

THE FAILURE OF INDIAN EDUCATION.

WHATEVER importance may be attached to the various questions that engage public attention from time to time, there is no question of more fundamental and pervading importance than the education of the people. For it is education alone that can raise men to a higher plane of thought and action. Undoubtedly this beneficent idea moved the high-minded and far-seeing British statesmen who decided in the teeth of narrow, selfish, and ignoble opposition, that it was the duty of Great Britain to labour to educate India. The British professions and aspirations are on record, and they are not likely to be forgotten by those that have at heart the true welfare of India. The practical outcome of British endeavour to fulfil the hopes raised by the great decision in favour of Indian education is also open to us in the pages of multifarious Blue-books, and especially in the memorable Despatch of 1854 as compared with the Report of the Commission of 1882, and with subsequent Quinquennial Reviews. Much has been accomplished, admittedly. But who shall say that the net outcome is anything like adequate in view of our responsibilities, our professions, and our opportunities, or in view of the crying needs of successive generations of the hundreds of millions dependent upon our policy for the daily bread of the mind? Substantially and broadly, the system is a failure, and a confessed failure.

The blame for this comparative failure lies, of course, with the Government of India—that is to say, with the Home Government. It is they that have had the haft and the blade in their own hand, with absolute discretion of use. It is they, and they alone, that must bear the discredit of having allowed the aspirations of Warren Hastings and Mountstuart Elphinstone, of 1835 and 1854, to fall to such limited and barren results. The Secretary of State, in his very last Budget Statement, said:—

> No one looking at the systems in force can deny that primary as against secondary education has been neglected, and that in the higher branches of education a purely literary degree of a perfunctory character and in many cases of no subsequent use has, until quite recent times, pushed technical and industrial education out of the field.

Yes, but it was not the literary education that pushed the technical education out of the field: it was our statesmen that did the deed, by the policy they sanctioned and upheld. We cannot admit the thin veil of impersonal agency in the investigation of a question that vitally concerns hundreds of millions of people subject to external control and themselves incapable of rectifying the mischief. It was British statesmen that did this thing. They are the parties responsible for this acknowledged neglect of primary education, which was so strenuously insisted upon in 1854. Observe it is not an absolute neglect that Lord George Hamilton admitted, but a comparative neglect—the neglect of primary as compared with secondary education. Positively, then, what does the primary education amount to? Mr. Baines, in his Census Report for 1891 told us that out of a total population of 261,838,926, no less than 118,819,408 males and 127,726,925 females were illiterate —could not read or could not write; that is to say, 89 per cent. of the males, and 99.5 per cent. of the females. In other words, 11 males in 100, and 1 female in 200 were all that could read or write. The Department of Public Instruction indeed made rather higher returns; but suppose we double the figures, is it not scandalous? In 1896-97, the last year of the latest Quinquennial Report, there were only 3,209,825 pupils in the primary schools; and, if we take the official estimate of the population of school-going age at 15 per cent. of the whole population, the astounding result is that not 1 in 5 of the children sees the inside of a primary school. And if we make large allowances for the female children, yet what a melancholy exhibition remains!

It is the ardent prosecution of secondary education, then, that is said to have reduced us to this portentious neglect of primary education. Well, how many pupils are there in the secondary schools? In 1896-97, there were 535,155 secondary pupils, including 40,023 girls. The figures would be ludicrous, were the question not so grave. Besides, what rational reason can be alleged for the neglect of one class of education at the expense of another? And what incomprehensible idea of education can be in the heads of people that imagine the possibility of doing anything with secondary education when the primary education, the very basis and support of it, is neglected? Of course, there is a reason. The Government have no money for the work, and want to have the primary education done by the people themselves. The policy would be all very well if the people were left with means to carry it out and afforded the necessary direction; but the Government's ideas of economy do not square with their educational policy. Again, who is responsible for the literary education of the Colleges? Who but those that prescribe the character of the examinations? In blaming the literary education of Indian youths, the Secretary of State condemns his predecessors and himself. Besides, if the education is not only too largely literary, but insufficiently solid, who is to blame but the officials concerned, and their masters in high places? And why—but for the eternal lack of rupees (through mistaken policy)—should literary education conflict with technical education? "Until quite recent times," says Lord George Hamilton. But how little has even in "quite recent times" been done for technical and industrial education! Lord George Hamilton himself has openly confessed the failure of education in India.

Now, side by side with Lord George Hamilton's avowal it is desirable to place the views and action of the leaders of Indian opinion. The despised and talkative Indian National Congress, at its third meeting, at Madras, in 1887, passed this Resolution:—

> That, having regard to the poverty of the people, it is desirable that the Government be moved to elaborate a system of Technical Education, suitable to the condition of the country, to encourage indigenous manufactures by a more strict observance of orders, already existing, in regard to utilising such manufactures for State purposes, and to employ more extensively than at present the skill and talents of the people of the country.

Here, 14 years ago, is an earnest demand for technical education, with an express view to internal development, to the prosperity of the country, and that "subsequent use" of acquired knowledge which Lord George Hamilton finds "in many cases" non-existent. The Congress did this thing, and it was all that in the circumstances they could do; and we now see how right a thing it was, and perhaps Lord George Hamilton will take note of it. Again, at its next meeting, at Allahabad, in 1888, the Congress passed this Resolution:—

> That this Congress, being of opinion that it is the first duty of the British Government in India to foster and encourage education, as well General as Technical, in all its branches, and that the declaration made in the recent Resolution of the Government of India on the subject of education is calculated to encourage the tendency to reduce Imperial expenditure on education, and to withdraw from the control of it, respectfully urges upon Government the extreme importance of increasing, or at any rate of not decreasing, the present expenditure on education, and of the Government continuing to control the educational institutions of all kinds now existing.

Here, thirteen years ago, the Congress insist that the encouragement of education in all its branches is "the first duty of the British Government," and express alarm at the anticipated reduction of expenditure on education, and at the prospective withdrawal of direct Government control. Besides, we invite those that are interested in this question to follow the Congress resolutions of the subsequent years, and then to say whether or not the blame for the poverty and inefficiency of the education of the people can honestly be laid at the door of that institution, or at the doors of those it represents. It will be patent to every unprejudiced mind that the leaders of Indian opinion have consistently and continuously recognised and expressed, in the face of neglect and of obloquy, the essential importance of a comprehensive, thorough-going, and practical system of national education. Herein lies a speaking lesson.

The recent speech delivered (September 2) by the Viceroy at the Educational Conference at Simla has tended to raise favourable anticipations for education throughout India. Among other indications of its effects, we have before us a very earnest "Letter on the Present System of University Education" addressed to Lord Curzon by Mr. Manmutha Nath Ray Chowdhury, Zemindar of Santosh, Mymensingh. Mr. Chowdhury deals briefly, but incisively, with a few of the more vital points—female education, text-books, expenditure, university and professional education. It may be that, at points, he is scarcely familiar with the

practical details, especially with the system of examination; but his "Letter" undoubtedly represents some widespread opinions that need to be carefully considered. For example, he points out that his countrymen, being "very conservative so far as their social manners and customs are concerned," will not "readily adopt a system of training for their girls which is not in keeping with Eastern traditions and associations, and is entirely based upon Western ideas and thoughts," and that "our girls are too delicate to carry on their back the university trophies." He complains that, among the text-books, which "are sometimes selected on mere recommendations, without judging their merits and demerits," "books about India and her people are out of all proportion in comparison with books relating to countries far beyond the seas"; and he wants books in which the students "could at once see what their ancestors were, and what they ought to be as their descendants"—"could see ample traces of the remarkable liveliness of imagination, vigour of fancy, force of sentiment and loftiness of thought which characterised their great Aryan fathers, and learn from them to appreciate their elegance, refinement, and culture." This is one side only, but it is a distinctive national side, and is not to be ignored, however much attention may be demanded by more prosaic subjects. He makes out that, while the State expenditure on education per head is 10s. 4⅝d. in the United States, 7s. 4¾d. in the South African Republic, and 3s. 11¾d. in Great Britain and Ireland, it is only the ridiculous sum of 7 1-7d. in India. Anyhow, his "Letter" is a healthy sign of Indian interest in this great question.

We had high hopes of instruction and guidance from Dr. Duncan's paper entitled "Is the Educational System in India a Failure?"—a paper read by the late Director of Public Instruction in Madras before the East India Association on Monday afternoon. Unhappily, however, Dr. Duncan limited his attention to "the alleged failure of education in India to cultivate the religious and moral side of the character." His main efforts, as will be seen from the report we give elsewhere, were directed to criticism of recent utterances of the Bishops of Calcutta, Bombay, and Madras, and especially of Bishop Welldon, with rectifications of certain opinions expressed by a writer in the "Madras Christian College Magazine." Surely it was superfluous to crush Dr. Welldon again, after the explicit assurances drawn from the Government of India by Sir Antony MacDonnell, and in face of the obvious practical absurdities of the Bishop's abstract imaginings. Sir Lepel Griffin, who presided, warmly championed the morality of India as comparing favourably with the morality of any country of Western Europe, and pointed out that science, in sweeping away superstitions at the root of the Hindu creed, had only done the same work for India as for England, and had not worked for atheism. Mr. Thorburn alone touched the essential point: does the education fit the pupils for the business of life and lead them to be good citizens? And he had to confess that, such as it was, the education did not get at the mass of the population. In view of this appalling failure, what a mummery to argue solemnly what is to be the effect of Christianity on the Indian people at the end of the present century, or to discuss the pros and cons of a situation that the Government has explicitly and peremptorily ruled to be utterly excluded even from contemplation! After all, the grave question remains: What is to be done to remedy this frightful educational neglect?

OUR LONDON LETTER.

WESTMINSTER, Thursday.

Mark Tapley has found a rival in Lord Kitchener. The British Commander admits that the famous proclamation of last September failed in its object, which was to bring about a general surrender of the Boers under a threat of banishment; but, he says, it had a salutary effect in another way, for it compelled the Boer leaders to assume the offensive, and so to incur heavy losses in men and ammunition. Could fatuity go further? In the very despatch in which this nonsense appears, Lord Kitchener refers to the capture of Gough's force and the reverse at Brakenlaagte and offers for those misfortunes excuses which at least do credit to his heart. Unhappily for himself, or for Mr. Chamberlain, Lord Kitchener failed to realise that if the proclamation was responsible for stirring the Boers into organised action it must also be held responsible for the defeat of a British force and the loss of two British guns. When a soldier takes to electioneering, as in the case of Lord Roberts, or to political sophistry, as in this instance, he is apt to make himself a laughing stock.

Rumours of intervention have again been interchanged between Brussels and London. They probably mean nothing, and yet their revival is not without a certain significance. Each side is vigilantly waiting for a sign of peace from the other, and the mood of mingled suspense and hope is reflected in the various inferences drawn from current rumours. Thus, we are assured, on the one hand, that England is about to be called to a stern account by the incensed civilisation of Europe, and on the other, that the Boer leaders have induced Holland to act as an intermediary in suing for terms of peace. Meanwhile, nothing happens.

A fresh chapter has been added to the Buller episode during the week, chiefly consisting of sound and fury. Further revelations had been expected at the Devonian dinner, but none were forthcoming. Sir Redvers Buller made a manly little speech, full of sympathy for the men at the front, but virtually devoid of allusion to his own case. The cause of this effect is traced by cynical observers to a remarkable article published in the "Standard" on the morning of the dinner, in which further penalties and disclosures were threatened in the event of any additional indiscretion on General Buller's part. If this article had influenced Sir Redvers Buller at all, it would probably have been in the direction of making him more outspoken and defiant. His reticence simply implied a certain confidence in the ultimate decision of Parliament. The whole affair will have to be reviewed in the coming Session, and, in the meanwhile, General Buller is acting wisely in biding his time.

Perhaps the most striking feature of the huge demonstration which was witnessed in Hyde Park last Sunday against the action of the Government in superseding Sir Redvers Buller, was the unfriendly reception given to Lord Roberts's name. Less than a year ago, the same mob was acclaiming the Commander-in-Chief as a heaven-sent deliverer. He was a national idol, and Ministers used his name as a talisman to ward off retribution. They are now using him, for the same purpose, as a scapegoat. Lord Roberts's shortcomings are many, but to saddle him, as Mr. Brodrick has done and as the fickle multitude are doing, with personal responsibility for the Buller muddle is outrageously unfair. If the mob had applauded, Mr. Brodrick would not have been slow to claim the credit. But the meanness of Ministers has now become a by-word.

By the death, the other day, of ex-Governor Eyre, men's memories have been taken back to a controversy, of which the most painful features are being reproduced to-day in South Africa. Two years ago, it might have been said that history had passed a final verdict on the "barbarous methods" employed thirty-five years ago to suppress the Jamaican revolt. Much, however, has happened within the last two years. People who admire Mr. Chamberlain have had to revise their historical impressions of Lord North, while those who acclaim the wisdom of Lord Milner are bound for consistency's sake to revere the memory of the famous ex-Governor of Jamaica.

Just as Lord Milner has his eulogists to-day in certain dignitaries of the Church, so had Governor Eyre his panegyrists in men like the late Charles Kingsley. It was the latter who anticipated the Knox-Little vein by speaking of the executions in Jamaica as "a brilliant manifestation of modern chivalry." Sir George Trevelyan, in his "Ladies in Parliament," shed melodious tears over this extravagance. It grieved him to think that he whose "brave old English tale" had kindled the hearts of his countrymen,

"Should teach that modern chivalry has found its noblest egress
In burning Baptist villages and stringing up a negress."

The author's explanatory foot-note to his verses betrayed even a deeper resentment than the lines themselves. "It was reserved," he wrote, "for modern chivalry in the year of grace 1865 to hang three women on a charge of rebellion unaccompanied by murder, besides Rosa Macbean who was shot by soldiers without trial, and a woman, name

unknown, hanged by a court-martial which did business on the principle of 'proceedings not kept,' which gallant and gentle feats are duly chronicled in the report of the Royal Commission."

Although the Coronation is still a long way off, it is casting its shadow—or, rather, to use a courtlier phrase, throwing an anticipatory radiance—on the social life of the moment. The newspapers have already adopted it as a stock subject, and among other captivating reports we occasionally stumble across one to the effect that the King has entertained thoughts of having the Westminster ceremonial repeated in a more gorgeous form at Delhi. His Majesty, of course, has no intention of visiting India for this purpose. He might, however—either on the occasion of the ceremonial of his proclamation as Emperor or at a later date—consent to a proposal that the Prince of Wales should visit India, and, indeed, it is understood that some scheme of the kind has been under consideration since the return of the Prince and Princess from their brilliantly successful tour of the Colonies.

CHRONICLE OF THE WEEK.

THURSDAY, November 28.—Mr. Ritchie, speaking at Croydon, advocated a reform in the procedure of the House of Commons, and said the Government would in the forthcoming Session introduce a considerable measure of temperance reform. He also foreshadowed amendment of the legislation in reference to coal mines and prison reforms.

Sir Edward Grey, M.P., spoke on the war and the position of the Liberal party at a meeting in Glasgow. He did not, he said, try to conceal the differences in the Liberal party, but he desired not only in the interests of Liberalism but in the national interest to see the party system of politics upheld. He admitted that that system was not working well to-day, and that there was much that was inconvenient and uncomfortable in the present position of the Liberal party. That would continue till the war ended, but they were no better off on the Ministerial side. He believed and hoped that after the war they would not find that Imperial affairs would form the dividing line between the two great parties in the State. If the day ever came when these affairs formed the permanent dividing line, either the Empire or the party system would be smashed to pieces. After exonerating Mr. Chamberlain from giving any real cause of offence to Germany, Sir Edward went on to consider the present position of the war. As to ending it, he thought very little could be done by negotiation. Colonial government had no charm for the Boers. They had it from the Boers that they would take nothing short of independence, and that was incompatible with the British position in South Africa. So he trusted to nothing to end the war but convincing the Boers that the British determination was as great as their own, and the British strength infinitely greater.

The General Officer commanding Lines of Communication telegraphed to the War Office that two privates of the 1st Connaught Rangers were taken prisoners at Dordrecht on November 16, and the officer commanding the British force to which they belonged had received a letter from Fouche stating that he had shot these men. Their bodies could not be found.—A Commission had been appointed by the Transvaal Executive to enquire into the working of the Gold Law, and to suggest alterations and amendments therein.—A Johannesburg telegram stated that 23,000 ozs. of gold, which were commandeered from the mines by the late Boer Government and were found in the Pretoria Mint by the British, were being returned to the owners.

FRIDAY, November 29.—Mr. Long, President of the Local Government Board, stated that he would ask the House of Commons next Session to consolidate the Public Health Acts. In reference to the housing question, the extension of the period for the repayment of loans was a matter which affected the ratepayers of the future as well as the ratepayers of to-day. It was impossible to leave that question exactly where it was; he had been giving it his attention, and if he was satisfied that he could not deal with it on his own initiative he would ask his colleagues to appoint a Committee early next Session to investigate it.

The Pretoria Correspondent of the "Times" reported that more men were needed to complete the attrition of the Boers. He said "the troops are engaged systematically and unceasingly in hustling the enemy. Consistent progress is made, but the partitioning of the country by blockhouses has yet to be carried out more completely to enable the columns to achieve bigger results. It will be a laborious task. Meantime more men are needed, not for an immediate 'coup,' but to accelerate the attrition of the Boers."

Mr. Winston Churchill, M.P., speaking at Hanley, described some of the reasons that had led him to offer friendly criticism on the conduct by the Government of the war. If the country was to continue to be interested in the South African war the people must, he said, know the conditions under which the war was carried on. It was satisfactory to notice that there had been a great improvement in the last few weeks in the information from South Africa, and this had been accompanied by an improvement in public confidence and public support.

A Parliamentary Paper was issued containing correspondence on the proposed "Final Court of Colonial Appeal." The paper closed with a letter from Mr. Chamberlain to the Governors of the various self-governing colonies, in which he said that the conference with the delegates of the colonies had shown that no far-reaching alteration in the present tribunal was desired, and so long as the colonies were of that opinion his Majesty's Government did not propose to make any material changes for the establishment of an Imperial Court of Appeal.

A Bradford bookmaker named Kelly, against whom a warrant had been issued in connexion with the Liverpool Bank frauds, surrendered himself at the Bow Street Police Station.

SATURDAY, November 30.—Mr. Leonard Courtney was the guest of the Palmerston Club at Oxford. In responding to the toast of "The Liberal Cause" he maintained that the Liberal cause could not die, but he discriminated between that and the Liberal party. The secret of the comparative inactivity of to-day lay in the fact that the House of Commons was not truly representative of the political life of the nation. Speaking of the war, he dwelt upon the danger of accepting without consideration the proposition that all was fair in war, and traversed the opinion of those who claimed that the men on the spot knew best. War was a thing regulated by conventions agreed upon in times of peace, when we were sober, reasonable, and desirous of being just to one another; but the danger was that in the field these things were forgotten. Things had been done which were thought to be useful, such as farm-burning and the concentration in camps, but they had failed. The last proclamation of banishment was seen to have been folly. Mr. Courtney went on to review the history of British dealings with the Republics, and to contend that it was not magnanimity but necessity that caused the restoration of the Transvaal to the Boers by Mr. Gladstone. The discovery of gold was the cause of the subsequent troubles, otherwise the Transvaal would have followed the course of the Free State and Mr. Gladstone's action would have been justified. He spoke also of the causes of the present war, for which the Raid and the diplomacy of Mr. Chamberlain and Lord Milner were responsible, and said the Liberal party ought to have denounced it the very moment it began. It seemed to him that the position Liberals should have taken up was that of asserting the power of Great Britain and when that was done, to make peace. But, instead of making peace when it might have been made a year ago, opportunities for doing so had been neglected. It was now said that the country would have nothing less than annexation. If what the country desired was wrong, let it be their duty to convert the country. In former days some were found to withstand the errors of the country; and if they did their duty and were faithful to those who had gone before them, they in that room in due time must do the same. Even allowing that wrong had been done by the Boers, the suppression of the Republics was an excessive punishment. Besides, annexation would not remove but aggravate the possibility of further conflict. Mr. Courtney replied to the policy of "Never again" advocated by Sir E. Grey, and to his views on Lord Milner, and urged that, though annexation might come, none the less was it practical for Liberals to protest against it. He believed the mind and temper of the British people were changing, and thought advantage might be taken of that to secure terms which would give some promise of security.

Sir Redvers Buller presided at the annual dinner of Devonians in London, and in acknowledging the presentation of a resolution of confidence and sympathy, passed at a meeting of Devonians in London on November 1, and now engrossed on vellum, expressed his deep sense of gratitude for the kindness and sympathy which had been shown to him. Reference had been made to certain recent events in his career. At present he felt absolutely precluded from entering into a discussion of any of those subjects, though, did not considerations of discipline prevent, he would gladly take all present into his confidence and say all that there was to say. General Buller proceeded to dilate on the heavy and trying work that was being done at present by our troops in South Africa in order to bring the war to a definite, downright conclusion.

MONDAY, December 2.—Mr. E. J. Eyre, ex-Governor of Jamaica, whose conduct in the suppression of the negro outbreak in the island in 1865 provoked an impassioned controversy and led to the investigation of criminal charges against himself and some of his military subordinates, died on Saturday in Devonshire, where he had long lived in complete retirement. He was in his 87th year.

Lord Kitchener stated that the columns reported for last week, 32 Boers killed, 18 wounded, 256 prisoners, 14 surrenders, and the capture of 143 rifles, 4,630 rounds of ammunition, 154 wagons, 1,600 horses, and 4,900 cattle.

Thomas P. Goudie, the clerk of the Liverpool Bank who was alleged to have defrauded the bank by means of forged cheques to the amount of about £170,000, and for whom the police had been on the look-out since he disappeared from the bank last Thursday week, was arrested this morning in Bootle, where he had taken lodgings on the day following his disappearance. The authorities learned his whereabouts from information given by his landlady. He at first denied that he was the man wanted, but afterwards admitted it.—At Bow Street police court, Richard Burge, 35, professional boxer, of Brixton, and Thomas Kelly, 34, turf commission agent, of Bradford, were charged on remand with feloniously uttering cheques forged by Goudie. Some evidence having been tendered, the prisoners were further remanded, bail being refused.

In the Reichstag, in Berlin, Count von Bulow introduced the new Customs Tariff Bill, which, he said, was the result of several years' comprehensive and careful preliminary labours. Its objects were to give increased protection to agriculture, to provide industry with a remedy for the defects that had manifested themselves in the application of the present tariff, and to furnish a better weapon for future commercial treaty negotiations with other States. The Bill, he affirmed, was no departure from the policy of tariff treaties.

Tuesday, December 3.—Miss Hobhouse issued to the Press a statement regarding her forcible deportation from South Africa under the negation of legality which ignoramuses by calculation call "martial law." In an accompanying letter Lord Hobhouse wrote:—"Miss Hobhouse does not enter on any political question except so far as the attack on her liberty is itself a political question. It may, with other attacks on other people, become one if the law is found unequal to protect private individuals against orders which persons in command of the organised forces of the country, and therefore physically masters of it, may take it into their heads to issue. Every reasonable effort will be made to bring this case to the calm arbitrament of law. And I say no more on that side of it now, except that I believe that the treatment accorded to her has no warrant of law to support it."

The following telegram from the General, Cape Town, was received at the War Office:—"Cape Town, Dec. 2. Referring to my telegram of the 27th November, officer commanding 1st Connaught Rangers now wires that the letter received from Fouche reported the two men 1st Connaught Rangers had been 'shot,' and not 'captured and shot' as previously reported by him." With reference to the above, the Secretary of State for War telegraphed to the General Officer Commanding, Cape Town, as follows:—"Referring to your telegram 2nd December, Officer commanding 1st Connaught Rangers should be warned that he should exercise greater care in his reports. Allegations of misconduct by the Boers, unless fully substantiated, are much to be deprecated."

President Roosevelt sent his Message to Congress. After a reference to the assassination of President McKinley, it recommended the exclusion and deportation of Anarchists from the United States, generally defended commercial and industrial trusts, advocated the re-enactment of the Chinese Exclusion Law, and declared in favour of a policy of reciprocity as the handmaiden of protection. On the subject of the Isthmian Canal, the President said the negotiations with Great Britain had resulted in a treaty which, if ratified, would enable the United States to begin preparations for the canal at any time, and guaranteed to the nation every right it had ever asked for in connexion with the canal.

At Bow Street Police Court Thomas P. Goudie was brought up and remanded, charged with feloniously uttering forged cheques to the amount of £53,000.

Wednesday, December 4.—The General Committee of the National Liberal Federation met at Derby. After an extremely interesting discussion, the following amended resolution was adopted:—"That this general committee of the National Liberal Federation, whilst recognising the grave differences within the Liberal party with respect to the earlier stages of the South African war, declares that the time has now arrived when negotiations should be entered upon with a view to the conclusion of an honourable and durable peace, and that for that purpose it is essential that a Special Commissioner should be despatched to South Africa. This committee views with grave misgiving the suspension of constitutional Government and the extension of martial law to those parts of Cape Colony where the jurisdiction of the Civil Courts could properly have been maintained, and sees in the recent decision of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council in the Marais appeal case the most serious menace to the liberties of British subjects; and, finally, this committee declares its unabated confidence in Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman as the leader of the Liberal party in the House of Commons."

It was announced that Miss Hobhouse would bring an action against Lord Kitchener, Lord Milner, and the officers concerned in her deportation from South Africa.

THE FAMINE IN INDIA.

GLOOMY OUTLOOK.

The Secretary of State for India has received the following telegram from the Viceroy, dated November 30:—

Sowings for spring crops on unirrigated areas in Punjab and Rajputana still delayed for want of rain, and probability of relief works in these areas increases. Elsewhere sowings now in progress, but deficient rainfall makes prospects indifferent, especially in Gujerat and Baroda. On the whole prospects are fair in Madras, Bengal, Burma, Assam, and North-Western Provinces. Severe cyclonic storm travelled from 24th to 27th instant along eastern half Bengal, and filled up in Eastern Bengal; detailed report not received yet, but it is believed that no grave damage done. Number of persons in receipt of relief:—Bombay, 48,000; Bombay Native States, 16,000; Baroda, 26,000; Mysore, 2,000—total, 92,000.

"AT LENGTH EMERGED"!

Writing on Monday—the day before the foregoing telegram appeared in the London newspapers—the "Daily Graphic" had the courage to say:—

> Evidence is not wanting to show that our Indian Empire has at length emerged from the period of famine and drought which cast such a dark shadow over her fortunes in recent years. From the trade returns for the first six months of the fiscal year, which have just been issued to the public, we gather that the purchasing power of the people has greatly improved, as indicated in an increase of £4,300,000 in imported goods over the amount for the corresponding period of 1900. But more gratifying still is the substantial increase of £7,000,000 in exports, which clearly demonstrates that throughout the length and breadth of the country industry of all kinds has resumed its interrupted operations, and that consequently, the conditions of life, alike for the husbandman, the mechanic, and the merchant, have become better and happier. The export of raw cotton increased by fully 100 per cent., which is, in part, attributable to a larger demand from Japan and China, following upon the prolonged depression caused by the recent disturbed state of affairs in the Celestial Empire. In every staple article of commerce there has been a material improvement, and the outlook is most encouraging. All of which must be very gratifying to the broad-minded, energetic Viceroy, whose dearest wish it is to see the great dependency contented and prospering under British rule.

This is a fair sample of the less informed sort of writing about India which prevails in the British Press. The writer, it will be seen, declares that the famine (like the war in South Africa) is over. He is willing to regard as Indian trade that branch or portion of British trade which is conducted in India. And the more India exports, the more prosperous he holds her to be! On this contention, the greater the "drain" the greater the national well-being.

THE INDIAN FAMINE UNION.

"Britannia" writes.—Fears have been re-awakened that the spectre of famine may again stalk through our great Indian Empire. Scattered showers have improved the outlook in the Deccan, but already a shortage in the autumn crops is a certainty in many large areas. What this means we already know too well, and although the calamity may be on a more limited scale than we have so frequently experienced, it will have to be grappled with, and, so far as is humanly possible, overcome by the old methods of relief. In the meantime, the Indian Famine Union have come forward with an influentially-signed memorial, in which they pray the Government to undertake a detailed enquiry into the economic condition of a limited number of selected villages in each of the provinces which have been afflicted by famine. "When," it is said, "the economic record of these villages is complete, approved experiments in their management might be entrusted to administrators of proved capacity and discretion. Different groups of villages will doubtless be found to require different treatment, and the remedies, administrative and legislative, found efficacious in the typical villages could be afterwards cautiously extended to the groups existing under similar economic conditions." The movement, they add, "is of a purely scientific character; it is unconnected with party politics, and our wish is to support the Indian Government in its efforts to deal with a great national calamity." The memorial is worthy of the gravest consideration, though it may be in the power of Lord George Hamilton to reply that, short of a vast irrigation system, what man can do to prevent recurring famines is infinitesimally little.

[It is no doubt in the power of Lord G. Hamilton to reply to that, or any other, absurd effect. But if he were so ill-advised as actually to make the suggested reply, it would not be necessary to go further than the Report of the last Famine Commission to show that he was wrong. "Britannia" should really give Lord George Hamilton credit for a little more knowledge and common sense.—Ed. India.]

THE CONDITION OF BRITISH INDIA.

MR. HYNDMAN'S INDICTMENT.

The following letters from Mr. H. M. Hyndman have appeared in the "Morning Post":—

TO THE EDITOR OF THE "MORNING POST."

Sir,—It seems to me that Mr. Rees altogether underrates the importance of the question which he is discussing. Nearly five-and-twenty years ago I predicted as inevitable, if our then existing methods were continued, all that is now taking place in British India. If, as I am firmly convinced, and I am prepared to prove anywhere at any time, we are on the eve of a complete collapse of our rule in British India from economic causes, then I think there is no subject whatever for the public at the present moment which at all equals in importance the one which stands at the head of this letter. I venture to ask you, therefore, to allow me to put plainly once more certain facts which have never yet to my knowledge been controverted to any purpose:—

1. That we drain out of British India without commercial return, taking one year with another, from £25,000,000 to £30,000,000 sterling. If in any year the total drain falls below the average, this is due to the fact that gold loans at interest have been raised in this country in order to meet the deficiency, thus, however, increasing the drain from India in the future.

2. That all this huge economic tribute, the greater part representing nearly the whole net land revenue of British India, is disbursed in England on Government account alone.

3. That, owing to these unheard-of exactions from what is now the poorest population of which there is any record in the history of the world, the Government is compelled to levy its land revenue in a very harsh and cruel manner, and besides to increase the salt tax to such a point that it now represents about 1,000 per cent. "ad valorem" on a necessity of life for men and cattle.

4. That the land taxation thus levied on much too high a scale—as the recent Famine Commission, headed by Sir Antony MacDonnell, admits, at any rate in regard to Bombay—and collected before the crops are grown, absolutely forces unfortunate cultivators to borrow at enormous rates of interest from the Native money-lenders. These money-lenders we denounce for their usurious practices; yet it is certain that if they refused to advance to the rayats the money wherewith to pay their taxes before the crops are grown the bankruptcy of British India would have to be declared to the world tomorrow.

5. That owing chiefly to the above causes, we are manufacturing famine in India on a scale absolutely unheard of during the whole period of Native and Mahometan rule, and that famine is now practically permanent in British territory.

6. That, of course, under such conditions, the standard of life of the mass of the people, even in the best of times, is being steadily reduced; until now, as proved by official statements, the majority of the Indian people in our territory are not getting nearly enough to eat.

7. That almost the whole of the highly-paid appointments in British India are occupied by Englishmen. Out of 39,000 officials of different kinds who receive upwards of 1,000 rupees a year in India 28,000 are Englishmen, and only 11,000 Natives. The Englishmen receive £15,000,000 a year reckoned in silver at the old rate for the rupee, and the Natives receive but £3,000,000 a year on the same basis.

8. That such a complete deprivation of upwards of 200,000,000 of people of any control whatsoever over the administration of their own country is unknown in history, and, apart from its ruinous economic effect, must necessarily crush down all the natural faculties of peoples who for many centuries before our advent maintained a great and glorious civilisation.

9. That up to a certain period the official apologists for our rule, alike in Great Britain and in India, pointed to the rapid increase of population as showing conclusively that the contentions of myself and others were unfounded. This they did regardless of the facts that, as Adam Smith pointed out long ago, "poverty seems favourable to generation," and that Ireland from 1801 to 1841 afforded clear evidence that poverty may terribly increase while the population is rapidly growing. The years from 1846 to 1851 in Ireland should have taught us Englishmen, it seems to me, a lesson which we ought not to have forgotten even in fifty years. Now, however, that the population of British India is admitted by official statistics to have decreased materially during the past ten years it must surely be clear that we are working up to a similar catastrophe to that which befell Ireland, but on an enormously greater scale.

The present state of things cannot go on. The people of British India are becoming poorer and poorer. Droughts, of course, have occasioned scarcity and partial famines in India for thousands of years; but such a universal famine as that deplored by Lord Curzon as "unprecedented" is due, not to drought, but to the tremendous tribute which we are exacting, and to the wholesale Europeanisation of the country, for which we are responsible. No one would be more glad than I should be to see it proved that these statements of mine are completely erroneous, derived though they are from official sources. Unfortunately, I am quite confident I am right. The wheels of economics, like the wheels of God, grind slowly, but they grind exceeding small. There is, therefore, no remedy possible except that which is consistent with the immediate stanching of the drain for tribute and the revival of that policy of building up Native rule again under English leadership which the late Lord Iddesleigh and the present Lord Salisbury so nobly initiated in the case of Mysore now some thirty-four years ago. Had that policy been carried out from that date forward British India would have been the greatest Empire in the world to-day. As it is, she is bleeding to death, and will suffer, I fear, from our frightful wrong-doing for generations to come.—Yours, etc.,

H. M. HYNDMAN.

November 26.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE "MORNING POST."

Sir,—The letters of your two correspondents seem to call for only brief reply from me. In answer to Mr. Baker's question I may say that only the amount of the private remittances made to England out of the £15,000,000 in silver paid for salaries in India is reckoned in the £25,000,000 to £30,000,000 sterling at which I put the drain, and the amount of these remittances then figures not at 2s. to the rupee, but at the current value of the rupee estimated in gold. The reasons why I put the old rate of the rupee for salaries paid in India are because the form used in Indian accounts, Rsx., is not generally understood in England, because the purchasing power of the rupee in India itself is much the same as it was before the great fall in the price of silver on the markets of the world; because, also, my main object was to show the enormous disproportion which the salaries paid to Europeans in the higher grades in India bear to the salaries paid to the Natives, and into this the question of the exchange value of the rupee does not enter. I say £25,000,000 or £30,000,000 because there are various ways of estimating the drain, and I did not wish to state any excessive figure either way. The rest of Mr. Grenfell Baker's letter seems to me, I must say, wholly irrelevant. I have never believed in sending to India £200,000 or £300,000 by way of charity when, during the same year, we are draining out of her tens of millions sterling by way of tribute. Possibly the Pro-Boers, as he calls them, to whom Mr. Baker appealed for aid for the famine-stricken Natives took the same view of the matter. I do not know.

Your correspondent who signs the well-known initials "B.C.S." asks me whether I include in the drain interests and dividends paid on the Indian railways. Unquestionably. When more than two hundred millions of people are suffering from famine it seems to me practically of no importance whatever under what heading we draw from them the wealth which would prevent any famine from existing at all. So far from the railways having added to the wealth of India under existing economic conditions, I consider that they have acted as huge syphons to drain away its wealth. Moreover, they have been extravagantly, and, at the outset, inefficiently built, in a manner wholly unsuited to the requirements of a country so poor as India now is. "B.C.S." objects to my hysterical expression, as he calls it, about the "bleeding" of India. He ought, surely, to extend his condemnation to our present Prime Minister, who used the phrase before I used it, three-and-twenty years ago, and has used it several times since. I observe, however, that "B.C.S." confines himself to generalities, and does not challenge a single statement made in my letter as to the causes of the unheard-of impoverishment of the Indian population under British rule. I venture to remind him, too, that the late James Geddes, the hero of the great Orissa famine of 1866, than whom no abler or more devoted man ever honoured the Bengal Civil Service by his work, was one of the first to call attention, thirty years ago, to the real causes of the excessive poverty of India; and he sacrificed all hope of official advancement by the evidence which he gave before the Committee of the House of Commons and the pamphlet which he published on this subject. I take off my hat to-day out of respect for his memory.—Yours, etc.,

H. M. HYNDMAN.

November 29.

A LESSON FROM AFGHANISTAN.

Under the heading "Reformation of the Hooligan," the "Speaker" prints the following letter in its current issue:—

TO THE EDITOR OF THE "SPEAKER."

Sir,—In dealing with this thorny question, we might, I think, borrow an idea from that great and wise man Amir Abdur Rahman, the late ruler of Afghanistan, who favoured the principle of piece-work in reforming his criminals, teaching them arts and industries, and honest livelihood, by a strict method of payment by results.

The story of his experiences is given in Volume II,

chapter 2, of his life. He had purchased and set up in Cabul a large assortment of useful European and American machines, and had engaged skilled English artisans to teach his people how to work them; but the Cabulees refused to be taught: "The difficulties that I had to encounter on first opening the manufactories and workshops were enormous. My people knew nothing of modern inventions and appliances, and were consequently opposed to all these new ideas. . . . . They said that I did not know that the work could be much better done by hand than by machinery." But Abdur Rahman was not the man to be beaten. His free subjects would not work in the factories, so he looked elsewhere. He had in his gaols a large collection of prisoners; prisoners of war, mutineers, murderers, gang-robbers, and all kinds of malefactors, who had felt the weight of his terrible iron hand. These were the men he decided should be his factory hands. He therefore placed them (still in chains) under the head workmen in the various departments, and gave them the promise that when they had thoroughly learnt the work they would be released from prison, and employed and paid for their services according to their merits and abilities. Never were there found more apt and industrious pupils: "The prisoners were only too anxious to be released; they therefore learned their work quickly, and received their freedom and reward by being paid for their work; I, on my part, getting good and grateful workmen." There came to them the pride of the skilled workman in his work. Also they naturally felt drawn to the occupation which had been such a godsend to them; so they continued their lucrative arts and industries after freedom had been earned, frankly informing the Amir that they did not propose returning to highway robbery, which was bad business under his regime.

Could we not, in dealing with our young criminals, try the Amir's method of payment by results, instead of a mere time penalty? When we send the Hooligan for five years certain to a reformatory, and try to teach him a useful industry, he is an unwilling pupil, and probably learns to hate the trade as a part of his punishment, looking forward to the end of his term, when he will be free to throw it aside. Why not make it a condition of his five years' detention that he will be released as soon as he is certified as competent in his work? His sentence, a humane one, would thus be that he was condemned to become a first-class artisan, and well fitted to earn an honest livelihood. If some such plan were followed, we might hope to share in the advantages obtained by the master mind which, in Afghanistan, evolved order out of chaos.—Yours, etc., W. WEDDERBURN.

Meredith, Gloucester, November 21, 1901.

THE EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM OF INDIA.

THE VAGARIES OF DR. WELLDON.

MEETING OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION.

At a meeting of the East India Association, held at the Westminster Palace Hotel, on Monday afternoon, Mr. D. Duncan, late Director of Public Instruction in Madras, read a paper on the question—"Is the educational system of India a failure?" Sir Lepel Griffin presided.

Mr. DUNCAN said he proposed to confine himself to the alleged failure in India to cultivate the religious and moral side of character. Preaching in Calcutta on January 6, Dr. Welldon, the Bishop of Calcutta, startled India, from Cape Cormorin to Peshawar by what was understood to be a suggestion that the Government should set aside the principle of religious neutrality. Notwithstanding the spread of enlightenment, it was still a dangerous thing even to appear to meddle with religion in India, and when it was telegraphed throughout the country that the highest ecclesiastical authority had advocated the reading of the Bible in all Government schools, the recommendation was met by strong expressions of disapproval. Although a fuller report showed that the Metropolitan's views were not so subversive of the declared policy of Government as was at first supposed, the opposition continued strong enough and widespread enough to serve as a reminder of the inflammable nature of religious feeling in India. According to the last quinquennial review of the progress of education in India, there were on March 31, 1897, under public management 22,286 institutions, with 1,236,488 pupils, and under private management, including private schools, 129,739 institutions, with 3,120,382 pupils. Those who thought that a secular education had proved a lamentable failure should not forget that in less than 15 per cent. of the total number of schools could the Government be held responsible for that failure. With famine, frontier wars, and pestilence in the land, the Government had surely responsibilities enough already, without being held answerable, as the Metropolitan's words implied, not only for its own schools, but also for the use which the teachers of 95 per cent. of the schools made of that complete freedom of religious teaching which they enjoyed. It was said that secular education was contrary "to all the habits and disposition of the Indian people," that there was a growing desire for religious instruction, and that the time was therefore ripe for a more religious attitude being adopted by the Government. But Hindus and Mahometans who desired religious instruction for their children did not contemplate the sapping of the foundations of their own creed by it. Estimated by the interest actually taken in the religious exercises of mission schools and by the use which teachers in non-Government schools made of the liberty guaranteed to them, it would be found that the Government would look to this desire in vain for help in determining on what manner religious instruction might be secured—whether by the teaching of Christianity alone, by the concurrent teaching of all the creeds prevailing in India, or by teaching the common or fundamental elements of all religions. Compulsion being out of the question, would the adoption of a "conscience clause," as suggested by Bishop Welldon, remove all grounds of unreasonable as well as reasonable suspicion? Few who had lived in India long enough to become acquainted with the character and inner workings of Native society would give an affirmative answer. Moreover, the introduction of a conscience clause into the Government and Board Schools would probably lead to a demand for it in mission schools—a demand which would add to the already too numerous difficulties the missionaries had to contend with. The scarcity of Christian teachers needed but to be stated to show how utterly impracticable was the suggestion to have a Bible lesson and instruction in Christianity in all Government and Board schools. When it was remembered that in a large Government school or college there might be Protestants of several denominations, Roman Catholics, Mahometans, students belonging to different sects of Hindus, Buddhists, and a sprinkling of adherents of several minor cults, the impossibility of carrying out the suggestion that all creeds should be taught concurrently would be apparent. It might be contended that it would be possible to give instruction based on what was common to all religions, avoiding sectarian differences. In reply it seemed to be enough to appeal to experience. Even in Christian Britain it had been found next to impossible to allay sectarian suspicion, and what reason was there to believe that unsectarian teaching would prove more acceptable in India? Though the educational servants of the State were forbidden to inculcate any system of theological dogmas they were not debarred from endeavouring to mould and strengthen the character of the young by appealing to their feelings—to their religious feelings no less than to those that were personal and social. In calling to his aid, as motives for right conduct, the religious emotions of his pupils, the teacher committed no breach of religious neutrality, violated no pledge given by the Government to treat all castes and creeds alike, and broke no rule laid down for his guidance in the discharge of his duties. Had not the policy of the Government its justification in the result—not in considerations of temporary expediency merely, but in the enduring interests of religion and morality? The growth of a higher moral sense had for years been attracting the attention of sympathetic observers and had not escaped the notice of Bishop Welldon. "Whatever," he said, "be the source of the new morality in India, its presence and its progress are not to be denied. It does not as yet touch the people as a whole, but it illumines even now the highest intellects and consciences among them." That Christianity, both directly and indirectly, had had a large share in bringing about this improvement was undoubtedly true, but many other agencies, such as the Press, railways, increased material prosperity, and good government, had contributed to elevate the tone of society. Might it not be that the despised secular education had been one, not the least, of the influences that had been making for righteousness?

Sir LEPEL GRIFFIN said that he would like, with the utmost temperance, but still with some directness, to express his conviction that in the agitation raised by the Bishop of Calcutta and by Bishop Whitehead and others, including the Bishop of Bombay, those distinguished gentlemen had, so far as he understood their duties, gravely overstepped them. A Bishop of the Anglican Church, as he understood it, was appointed to supervise and control the operations of that particular form of Protestant faith of which he happened to be legally the head. He had no concern with missionary undertakings, and, if his missionary instincts were so warm that he felt he could not remain silent in India on that question which he had so dearly at heart, he thought his duty was to decline an Indian Bishopric. Dr. Welldon had been a very accomplished and popular master of Harrow; but when a schoolmaster was elevated—as he too often was—to a bishopric he was too apt to forget that he had ceased to be a pedagogue. He did not think that the speeches or the opinions of Dr. Welldon would have any effect upon the policy of the Government of India, which was to maintain an absolute equality and impartiality on all matters regarding religious opinion. The idea of introducing religious teaching, dogmatic or non-dogmatic, into education was a retrograde one. The tendency of modern thought was to separate as far as possible religious from secular education, and there was no reason why in India we should attempt to adopt a policy which we were every day abandoning in England. In his opinion a great deal of the manner in which we were handicapped to-day in England was due to the fact that the headmasterships of all our great public schools were in the hands of the clergy. The secular teaching in India did not make for Atheism; but the teaching of modern science disintegrated and destroyed all those old superstitions which had grouped themselves round the monotheism of the Hindu creed. It had done precisely the same in England with Christianity, where it had swept away in the minds of most thinking people all those old myths which congregated round the old Jewish theology which was at one time the faith of almost all Christian people. For both creeds it had done the same thing; but it had purified the Hindu creed, and had not made it atheistic. The Hindu creed was a monotheistic creed, and a creed of a very high ethical value; and when he looked back on his life in India and the thousands of good friends he had left there among all classes

of the Native community, when he remembered those honourable, industrious, orderly, law-abiding, sober, manly men, he looked over England, and wondered whether there was anything in Christianity which could give a higher ethical creed than that which was now professed by the very large majority of the people of India. He did not see it in London society; he did not see it in the slums of the East End; he did not see it on the London Stock Exchange. He thought that the morality of India would compare very favourably with the morality of any country in Western Europe. (Cheers.)

Sir S. THORBURN, late Financial Commissioner of the Punjab, said that if the Government were to start in each province a newspaper of its own and to sell it at very much below cost price, the educational advantages to the people of India which it would afford would be enormous.

Mr. J. D. REES said he must say that it appeared to him that the Bishop of Calcutta was rather an indifferent authority on the subject with reference to which he had been put forward as the most qualified authority. He himself had lived for many years in India, and he would not hesitate to answer in the affirmative the question which Dr. Duncan asked, and to say that this secular education which it was now the fashion to condemn had been one of the greatest causes making for righteousness. The alternative offered by Bishop Welldon, of either Christianity or atheism, was an alternative which did not exist.

Sir CHARLES STEVENS, Mr. NILKANT B. WAGLE, Mr. COKE, and Mr. PENNINGTON also joined in the discussion, and the proceedings closed with a vote of thanks to the lecturer.

THE TRADE OF INDIA.

[FROM THE "INVESTORS' REVIEW," NOVEMBER 23.]

Mr. J. E. O'Conor's annual review of the trade of India is one of the most conscientiously done and interesting official publications the Simla Government issues. We always read it with great appreciation and interest and seldom find occasion to differ from the writer. He indeed offers little material for criticism, because, quite properly, he confines himself to a summary of the facts and does not indulge in theories or generalisations to any extent. His essay for the year ended March 31 contains many items of interest that we should like to dwell upon and bring into prominence, but space does not permit, and for the present we must content ourselves with two or three notes and comments.

First of all take sugar. Readers will remember that "countervailing" duties, as they were called, were imposed with great ostentation by the Simla Government in May, 1899, in order to prevent the native sugar industries from being swamped by European bountied sugar. What has been the effect of this fresh load laid upon the bared backs of the Indian population? Only to increase their sufferings without in the slightest degree checking the import of beetroot sugar or helping to lift native production and manufacture into a better position. The imports of foreign sugar have not been reduced by the duty, and the production of native increased. A dip took place in imports immediately after their imposition but that was due to excessive arrivals in the two years preceding, which left heavy stocks on hand, and reduced the demand for 1899-1900. In the past year, however, ended March 31, imports rose higher than ever and amounted to 3,024,074 cwt. of cane, and 1,817,590 cwt. of beet. Germany and Austro-Hungary sent last year 1,723,304 cwt., or nearly as much as in 1897-98, and all over India the coarse native product is being ousted by this and other foreign sugars, including large quantities of beet sugar imported from England, and therefore apparently escaping the duty. Mauritius, owing no doubt to the distress prevailing in Western India, has not benefited to the extent of a rupee. True its crop was poor last year, but if the countervailing duty was to do any good at all it should have afforded the island some benefit in the way of better prices. All that has really happened is that sugar has been made dearer for the Indian population. It appears, says Mr. O'Conor, that prices since May, 1899, have risen nearly a rupee per maund or R. 1 5a. 9p. per cwt., that is all, and that is just what we should have expected. No first-class refinery, so far as we have heard, has been started in India itself to utilise the almost limitless capacity of producing sugar there. The protective duty has merely confirmed the slovenly habits of manufacture long ingrained and in use.

Passing by tea merely with the note that the trade was enormous last year and far from profitable, facts already known to readers of this Review, and that Ceylon tea has secured a large market on the mainland of India, we pass next to the effect of the artificial rate of exchange on the movements of bullion. This is so curious that it seems best to tell the story in Mr. O'Conor's own words:—

The flow of treasure into and from India has presented some very remarkable features in the last two years. In 1899-1900 gold was imported in quite extraordinary quantity, the conditions of trade and exchange making it profitable to the exchange banks to import gold and tender it to the Government, as they could do under the currency rules, in exchange for rupees. This importation continued into last year in a slightly increased degree. Meanwhile, however, the Government found the receipt of so much gold which had to be placed in the currency reserve to be inconvenient in consequence of the withdrawal of its equivalent value in rupees; and as the receipt of the imported gold was accompanied by the receipt from the mines of most of their output, it was decided to export the gold to London, and to buy silver therewith for coinage into rupees. It was also decided to modify the arrangement under which the mining companies tendered their gold at the mints by paying for the gold sixty days after tendered, instead of immediately, and tenders of gold from the mines thereupon ceased. The Government then began to export the gold they had received, and the mining companies also resumed the exportation of their output. Hence, last year saw an exportation of gold but little smaller than the importation, the exchange banks importing gold to be tendered to the Government for rupees, the Government exporting gold to purchase silver for coinage into rupees. But little of the transactions was connected with the ordinary Indian demand for gold for ornaments, which, of course, at such a time had fallen to the irreducible minimum. The importations of silver on account of Government were far larger than imports on the ordinary trade account, for the coinage of British dollars for circulation in the Far East ceased for the time, and the export of dollars also ceased, while the ordinary demands of the people for silver for ornaments was at a low ebb. Hence we see a very large importation of silver, the greatest part of it for the State, and an export smaller than in the three preceding years during which British dollars were freely coined in the Bombay Mint for exportation.

And all this is done at the expense of the Native population. The thing is burlesque and yet so sad. More interesting still is the effect upon the capacity of the Indian Government to pay its European charges produced by this system of playing with gold out and in in order to keep up an unreal rate of exchange. The system must be costly in mere freights, and it has grievously burdened the Indian cultivator, manufacturer, and exporter in all the relations of business. It also embarrasses the Government as a study of the figures subjoined extracted from tables in Mr. O'Conor's report will show. In each of the five years ended with March 31 last, except that closing March 31, 1899, the excess of exports over imports, reckoning everything in on both sides of the account, has been insufficient to cover the home demands of the Simla Government, and the aggregate deficiency in the five years has amounted to nearly 20 crores of rupees, or Rs. 197,717,000 which at Rs. 15 to the £ is equal to fully £13,000,000.

BALANCE OF TRADE AND GOVERNMENT DRAWINGS.

Years ended March 31.	Excess of Exports, including Government Transactions and Specie.	Amount of Government Bills drawn in London.	Exchange.	Shortage compared with Export Surplus.
	Rs.	Rs.	d.	Rs.
1896-7	19,17,96,000	25,78,70,000	14·45	6,60,74,000
1897-8	10,60,38,000	14,81,28,000	15·40	4,20,90,000
1898-9	30,21,40,000	28,07,64,000	15·98	*2,13,76,000
1899-1900	20,75,15,000	28,48,01,000	16·07	7,7 ,86,000
1900-01	16,51,95,000	19,98,38,000	15·973	3,57,43,000

* Surplus.

This may not be an exact presentment of the truth because there are additions and deductions to be made in the trading account that might to some extent modify the debit balance. On the other hand, India has been assisted in meeting her terrific obligations payable in London by a succession of loans and other capital raisings for Government and railway purposes within the Peninsula. It follows that were these loans to be suspended the shortage of the export over-plus might swiftly be serious enough to throw the whole finances of the Empire into confusion.

They will fall into confusion whatever happens. It is only a question of time, and the currency legislation of the Simla Government, as we have insisted throughout its whole wild career, is calculated to hasten the crisis that, in any event, must one day arise in Indian affairs. The whole tendency of that legislation is to hamper the exporter and stimulate imports. In answer to this the plausible apologists of the pedantic bureaucrats say that that could only happen for a year or two until business "became adjusted to the new conditions." But this is nonsense, because there can be no adjustment of a durable kind while the circumstances remain unaltered. Were silver to rise in price so that the artificial value of the rupee disappeared, then Indian trade might temporarily cease to feel the consequences of bad laws. Silver, however, remains cheap, and is forced upon the Indian people at a false valuation. The process is exactly on all fours with the cruel system under which Kings formerly mixed additional quantities of base metal in their coins in order to swindle their subjects. Therefore, while the silver rupee is kept at a price that constantly defrauds the exporter and gives him less purchasing power, less command over home markets, than he naturally would receive for the goods he sends abroad, the unvarying effect of the influence is to restrict exports, to render the exporter's trade precariously profitable at best, when not destroying its profits altogether. At the same time the importer gains because he can command gold on an entirely unreal basis for what he has sold. Probably he would have had by now to pay at least twenty rupees for his sovereign if Indian Government extravagance had been allowed to work out its natural consequences to Indian trade, and that dearness of gold would have checked the

ardour of the British, European, or American merchant in forcing goods into India. As long, however, as the Simla Government is able to maintain a false exchange its influence is directly contrary to this, it stimulates imports into India, and the consequence is that, what between diminishing the export trade, and swelling the import, the margin between exports and imports tends to contract, would do this in course of time quite irrespective of famines and sudden changes in the productiveness of certain areas of the Indian Peninsula, or of Burma. When these come the situation is aggravated, and the bureaucratic Government is, therefore, compelled, whether it will or not, to have recourse to borrowing with increasing frequency, and in increasing amounts, in order to prevent collapse. That is the position now, and it must go from bad to worse until the end unless our satraps become wise, a thing despotically nurtured satraps never do.

There is just one other remark we should like to make, or rather to repeat. It is that no branch of Indian export trade can be at any time considered established on a sure foundation. A few years ago and India was a large source of wheat supply, and now Mr. O'Conor tells us that the wheat trade has gone seemingly for good. Her manufactures are being cut into by China and Japan, and her great mainstay now is tea, and there are not wanting indications that the tea trade also has passed its best. It has become less profitable, although larger in bulk, and were a revigorated China to really take the field against the Indian producer, he would have a hard fight of it to get a living. The opium production is also precarious, and on the whole less profitable, and famines have done much to disorganise the rice trade of Burma. Burma's surplus, in other words, has been required in India, and foreign orders have had to be filled elsewhere. Instability, as of a fabric reared upon shifting sands, is the appropriate description of the Indian export trade.

AGRICULTURAL BANKS.

The "Saturday Review" writes (November 30):—Under Lord Curzon's vigorous impulse the old question of agricultural banks for India has been revived in a practical shape. The late Famine Commission strongly urged the measure and a special committee of experts has now examined and reported upon it. Since the project was first mooted events have moved in a direction to make it more feasible. Capital has become more diffused, banks and joint-stock enterprises more familiar to the people and the spread of education has made the agricultural community both more ready to recognise the necessity and more qualified to carry out a scheme of self-help. It is now admitted that the bank to have any vitality must be a mutual credit association formed and worked by the villagers themselves for the benefit of members only and confined to agricultural purposes. The suggestion of the committee to admit loans to meet marriage expenses and the like is more than questionable under any limitations and safeguards. The funds must eventually be provided by the associations themselves; but at the outset they may be helped by small State loans or financed in part by larger urban societies. Official audit and control is still deemed essential. Indeed, the whole scheme will require very careful nursing and too much must not be expected from an exotic measure with many obstacles to overcome.

INDIAN AFFAIRS IN PARLIAMENT.

The "Manchester Guardian" says (November 29):—

The first place in "East and West," a monthly review which makes a creditable start in Bombay under the judicious editorship of Mr. Malabari, is given to a paper by Sir Charles Dilke upon "Indian Affairs in Parliament." The aim of the paper is to urge that the House of Commons should every year vote a grant towards the cost of the India Office. An annual grant of £50,000 was recommended last year by the Royal Commission on Indian Expenditure, who observed that the Colonial Office is a charge upon British taxpayers. Sir Charles Dilke thinks that so far as financial justice is concerned the matter is "unimportant." One cannot be sure of that when men are dying in India for want of three-halfpence a day to buy food. But no doubt the chief importance of the proposal, as indeed was argued in the Report of the minority of the Commission, is that it might give us once a year a real debate in Parliament about India. Sir Charles Dilke says that Lord George Hamilton and his colleagues in the Cabinet are "fiercely opposed" to the plan. The words are probably not too strong, though Lord George Hamilton assured the House of Commons a few months ago that he would like nothing so well as to have his salary put on the Estimates, if it were not so much better for indigent Indians to pay it. It is "possible, although not certain," Sir Charles Dilke thinks, that Sir Henry Fowler has a like opinion. But this is to forget the speech in which Lord George Hamilton's predecessor at the India Office denounced the proposal, on the ground that it would cause Indian questions to be treated as party questions in the House of Commons. They tend, of course, to be so treated now, for the Secretary for India is a member of the Government, and the Government Whips "tell" in divisions upon Indian motions. But the system which Sir Charles Dilke rightly advocates might keep the Opposition up to its duty, and it would gradually "increase the number of competent critics of Indian policy in the House"—a result which some of those in authority do not perhaps contemplate with exhilaration.

MR. DADABHAI NAOROJI IN SCOTLAND.

MEETING AT GALASHIELS.

The "Border Advertiser" of November 19 gives a report, extending to a column and a half, of a lecture delivered by Mr. Naoroji at Galashiels. We quote the report of the speech of the Chairman, Mr. H. S. Murray:—

Mr. Murray said Provost Riddle, who was to preside, had been detained, and as they could not keep the meeting waiting they would go on with the proceedings. It was very seldom, if ever, that they had an opportunity of hearing, as they would hear that evening, a lecture on India, not only from a real Indian, but from one who was a real authority on the subject, and who had been such a sincere, devoted, and generous friend to the inhabitants of the vast country to which he originally belonged. They sometimes heard amongst them, both in public and in private, of the great benefits which India derived from British rule; indeed, to hear some people talk, they would think that the Natives of India should bow their heads in eternal gratitude to the British people for having introduced and maintained British ideas and British institutions in that vast continent. It was also said that this was done for purely philanthropic motives, that is was with the sole idea not of benefiting themselves, but from their desire to civilise India. He happened to read the other day "The History of Ireland in the Eighteenth Century," by that eminent historian Mr. Lecky, a gentleman who, as they knew, stood high in historical literature, but of whose philosophic opinions he for one had not a very high opinion. He came across a passage in which Mr. Lecky, in contrasting British rule in Ireland with British rule in India, said that there was no fact in modern history more memorable than the contrast between the complete success with which England had governed her great Eastern Empire with more than 200 million inhabitants and her signal failure in the governing of neighbouring Ireland, which contained at the most about three million disaffected subjects. From the little observation he (Mr. Murray) had been able to exercise on the matter, he must frankly say that he believed in no such stuff. So far as the facts were concerned he thought the Natives of India had nothing to thank us for, and as for our motive, to give it the colour of philanthropy was, to his mind, a piece of undiluted and selfish hypocrisy. They had often seen at a circus a clown belabouring some poor animal, or perhaps some human being, in order to make him perform some function in the programme, and in the midst of the castigation he turned round very often to the audience and said, "You see it's all done by kindness." It seemed to him that our relations with India were of that nature. British rule in India meant, in his opinion, sucking the life-blood of the people in order to support in comfort and ease a comparatively small oligarchy of English place hunters. If our rule was such a success and blessing to the people of India, how did it come to pass that these dreadful famines decimated them with more frequent and ever-increasing severity? The biography of a much greater man than Mr. Lecky gave a truer description of India than that historian. When Mr. Henry George visited India in his youth, he soon found that the impressions he had formed of India as a country of supreme luxury and soft and sensuous life were changed by the real India in its extremes of light and shadow, of poverty and riches, of degradation and splendour—a country where the few had so much and the many had so little, where jewels blazed in the trappings of elephants, but where the very carrion birds were more sacred than human life. That was a truer picture of British rule in India than the picture which had been given to us by Mr. Lecky. For his own part he did not believe that our rule in India could go on much longer on the present lines. He had spoken to Indians, intelligent men, good authorities and observant men, and he was assured by them—of course as a native of these islands he had not an opportunity of coming in contact with the real facts of the case—he was assured by men for whom he had a high esteem that things could not go as they were going on at present in India. Discontent must increase under the prevailing condition of things. He held that the conditions of India were not solely brought about by British rule. He held that the land question in India the same as in any other country was the true seat to the difficulty. At the same time that was away from the point. But he did think that, unless the rule which the British people inflicted at present in India changed for the better, they could not go on much longer without having some dreadful revolution. (Applause.)

POVERTY
AND
UN-BRITISH RULE IN INDIA.
BY
DADABHAI NAOROJI.
8vo, PRICE TEN SHILLINGS AND SIX PENCE.

LONDON: SWAN SONNENSCHEIN & CO., LD.
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